

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PEKING 02004 050932Z

44

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 NSCE-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15

CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01

SAJ-01 ACDA-07 OMB-01 /072 W  
----- 062312

R 050850Z OCT 76

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6502

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 2004

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, CH

SUBJECT: LIANG HSIAO SPELLS OUT THE LEFT'S POST-MAO PLATFORM

1. BEGIN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. THE OCTOBER 4 KWANGMING DAILY PRINTED ON PAGE ONE A LONG ARTICLE BY RADICAL CAMP POLEMISIST LIANG HSIAO (A PSEUDONYM GENERALLY ASSUMED TO REPRESENT A JOINT COMMITTEE OF PEKING AND TSINGHUA UNIVERSITIES). ENTITLED "FOREVER ACT ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN BY CHAIRMAN MAO," LIANG'S DISCOURSSU(NOT YET PUBLISHED BY PEOPLE'S DAILY OR BROADCAST BY PEKING RADIO) CAN BE READ AS THE LEFT'S PLATFORM FOR THE POST-MAO PERIOD. LIANG'S TONE -- UNLIKE THAT OF SOME OF HIS EARLIER EFFORTS -- IS FIRM, BUT NOT SHRILL; AND IS RARELY DEFENSIVE. IN SHORT, LIANG WRITES AS THOUGH HIS FACTION IS ON TOP, ALBEIT PRECARIOUSLY, FORESEES INEVITABLE CHALLENGES AHEAD, AND IS ACCORDINGLY PREPARED FOR UNCEASING STRUGGLE IN DEFENSE OF "THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN" BY CHAIRMAN MAO. THESE "PRINCIPLES" -- THE LEFT'S PLATFORM -- INCLUDE RESTRICTION OF BUREAUCRATIC PERQUISITES, RELENTLESS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALIST ROADERS WITHIN THE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PEKING 02004 050932Z

PARTY, EVENHANDED OPPOSITION TO SOVIET AND AMERICAN HEGEMONISM (BUT

WITH GREATLY HEIGHTENED VIGILANCE AGAINST THE USSR) AND LIBERATION OF TAIWAN. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

2. LIANG PROVIDES THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE WORKING DEFINITION TO DATE OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S LAST, CRYPTIC QUOTE "ACT ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN." TO LIANG THIS MEANS PERSEVERING IN CLASS STRUGGLE, THE PARTY'S BASIC LINE, CONTINUING REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM; THIS COURSE ALONE WILL ENSURE THAT CHINA WILL NOT TURN REVISIONIST.

3. LIANG NOTES THAT THE CORRECT "PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN" BY MARX-ENGELS AND LENIN-STALIN HAD BEEN INSIDIOUSLY TWISTED AND SUBVERTED BY THEIR REVISIONIST SUCCESSORS AND HE WARNS AGAINST THE SUBTLE REVISIONISM OF TENG HSIAO-PING, WHO PEGGED AN ENTIRE REVISIONIST PROGRAM TO SELECTIVE QUOTATIONS "LIFTED OUT FROM" MAO'S OWN DIRECTIVESDM ECHOING THE NATIONAL DAY EDITORIAL, LIANG ASSERTS THAT ALL MUST "PAINSTAKINGLY STUDY" THE WORKS OF MARX, LENIN, AND MAO IN ORDER TO SEE THROUGH SUCH "TRICKS AND SCHEMES" ADOPTED BY CAPITALIST ROADERS WITHIN THE PARTY.

4. BUT LIANG MAKES CLEAR THAT SUCH "STUDY" AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE "PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN" BY MAO CANNOT OCCUR WITHIN CALLING FORTH BITTER-END RESISTANCE FROM "BOURGEOISIE WITHIN THE PARTY." SPECIFICALLY, CAPITALIST ROADERS WILL INEVITABLY RESIST WHAT IS ESSENTIAL TO GENUINE IMPLEMENTATION OF MAO'S "PRINCIPLES": LIMITATION OF THE PERQUISITES OF "SOCIALIST BIG OFFICIALS" AND RESTRICTION OF THEIR "LIFELINE" -- "BOURGEOIS RIGHTS." WHEN LIANG THEREFORE CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, ARALLYING CLN ELXNAROUND THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, UNIFYING THOUGHT, UNIFYING ACTION, AND SUBORDINATING THE ENTIRE PARTY TO THE CENTER, HIS MEANING IS THAT MODERATES MAY CHALLENGE, "TAMPER WITH" (TSUAN-KAI), OR PASSIVELY RESIST "THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN" -- AS INTERPRETED BY THE LEFT -- AT THEIR OWN POLITICAL PERIL. IN LIANG'S LEXICON, "REVISIONISTS," "SPLITTISTS," ATF "CONSPIRATORSO" ARE TO BE FOUND AMONG THE "CAPITALIST ROADERS WITHIN THE PARTY," NOT IN THE RANKS OF PEKING'S RADICAL GUARDIANS OF MAOIST

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PEKING 02004 050932Z

ORTHODOXY. HENCE LIANG SUMS UP (QUOTING MAO): "WE MUST PREPARE FOR 20 OR 30 LINE STRUGGLES."

5. LIANG TERSELY STAKES OUT THE LEFT'S BASIC POSITION ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES:

--HE REAFFIRMS THE LINKAGE BETWEEN DOMESTIC REVISIONISM AND FOREIGN IMPERIALISM (INCLUDING SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM);

--HE EMPLOYS THE EVENHANDED FORMULA CALLING FOR  
PERSISTENCE "IN THE STRUGGLE OPPOSING THE TWO HEGEMONS THE  
SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES";

--BUT HE CALLS FOR RAISING VIGILANCE A HUNDREDFOLD AGAINST THE  
SOVIET UNION, WHOSE DESIRE TO "SUBJUGATE" CHINA HAS NOT  
DIED, AND FOR RESOLUTELY SMASHING ANY ENEMY THAT DARES  
TO INTRUDE INTO CHINA; AND

--HE INSISTS UPON COMPLETION OF THE "GREAT TASK OF UNIFYING  
THE FATHERLAND BY LIBERATION OF TAIWAN."  
DEAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESS COMMENTS, PARTY LINE, POLITICAL STABILITY, POLITICAL PATRONAGE  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 05 OCT 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976PEKING02004  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760375-0030  
**From:** PEKING  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19761081/aaaacsia.tel  
**Line Count:** 128  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 06 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <06 MAY 2004 by ShawDG>; RELEASED <06 MAY 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <03 SEP 2004 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** LIANG HSIAO SPELLS OUT THE LEFT'S POST-MAO PLATFORM  
**TAGS:** PINT, PFOR, CH, (LIANG HSIAO)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006